

## LETTERS TO THE STAR

## Dulles vs. Dulles

Your editorial, "The Final and Real Test," brings to attention contrasting diagnoses of the Soviet scene by the Dulles brothers. The Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, while he has modified somewhat his original reaction that the Soviet leaders have been forced to "revamp their whole creed from A to Z," has pointed to the promise of humane developments in Russia. But now his brother, Allen W. Dulles, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, in his speech in Los Angeles the other day, warns against "optimistic conclusion-jumping."

Allen W. Dulles is a comparatively well-informed man. Last June, in a speech at Columbia University, he noted that the Soviet leaders were "troubled," "perplexed," and "probably unharmful." He foresaw threats to the Marxist-Leninist gospel. Too many people, both pro-Communist and anti-Communist, have talked as if this gospel had its culmination and personification in Joseph Stalin. The gospel has staying power and could also be used against Stalin and other Communist tyrants, as was implied in a letter of mine in The Star of June 17, 1955. Mr. Dulles, I felt, did not enter sufficiently into the minds of the devotees of the Marxist-Leninist gospel. That gospel is not only threatened; it is also threatening because of the utopian promises of Marxism that it exclusively makes for a "free and better life" for the masses. As Mr. Dulles says now, we may hope for "basic institutional changes," but there is not much hope for any change in the foreseeable future in the Communist doctrine itself.

Those who think there is anything new, other than the necessary adjustment to a new period and new leaders, have simply forgotten or not known the past gyrations in Soviet policy. At least twice we seriously miscalculated Soviet behavior because of our inadequate familiarity with Communist ways of thinking. The Nazi-Soviet pact of August 1939, which was the signal for war, came as a shock to those ignorant of the origins of the Communist and Fascist movements, who imagined that these two could not mix. Soviet behavior after the war again caught many unawares because they naively deluded themselves into believing that our attack on Hitler would impel the

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## CPYRGHT

Soviet government to make peace with Western "bourgeois" society. These were avoidable errors of which those with a knowledge of the philosophy which guides the Communists were not guilty. Must we now repeat such errors?

The "cult of the individual" was never part of Communist ideology. Consequently there is nothing new in condemning it now. Before 1929 when complete consolidation of power into Stalin's hands became apparent, "collective leadership" was repeatedly extolled and emphasis on great personalities and "miracle-workers" repeatedly condemned. Stalin was out to undermine the reputation of the more colorful Leon Trotsky. Lenin himself, in his "last testament" had turned against Stalin and called for his removal and replacement by one less "rude and disloyal." Lenin's will finally will be carried out when Stalin's body is carried out of the mausoleum now housing them both. Stalin's glorification put on the emperor no new doctrinal clothes which now have to be discarded. No one had the courage to expose his doctrinal nakedness while he was there in the flesh and Lenin safely mummified.

We can go down the line and show that in no case has there been any significant change in fundamental policy, but only an increase in subtlety of application, any more than when Lenin announced the "New Economic Policy," which many hailed as a return to capitalism.

When Stalin died, whether and Tito remained, powerful

## CPYRGHT

and still faithful to Marxist dogma, the pilgrimage of repentance of the Soviet leaders to Belgrade seems by hindsight to have been inevitable, and this foreshadowed the new anti-Stalinist line. With this excess baggage out of the way, the enemy becomes more dangerous.